Innocencies Triumph.

OR

AN ANSWER

TO THE BACK-PART OF

A Discourse lately published by *William Prynne*, Esquire, intituled, *A full Reply, &c.* The said *Back-part* beginning at the foot of *pag.* 17. with this Superscription; *Certain briefe Animadversions on* Mr. JOHN GOODVVINS *Theomachia*, &c.

Many seek the Rulers favour: but every mans judgement cometh from the Lord. Prov. 29. 26.

Yee are the salt of the earth: if the salt hath lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and troden under foot by men. Matth. 5. 13.

Veritati nemo potest præscribere, non spacia temporum, non patrocinia personarum. Tertull.

Bene instituti, accipere plagam malunt, quàm turpiter vitare. Cic.

Sunt qui volunt verum esse quod credunt, sed nolunt credere quod verum est.

Ungentem pungit.

By JOHN GOODVVIN, *Pastor of the Church in Colemanstreet.*

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A BRIEFE

ANSWER TO CERTAIN BRIEFE OBSERVATIONS

Upon my late booke, intituled *THEOMACHIA*,

By WILLIAM PRINNE, Esquire,
in Justification of some passages
in his Independency, &c.

Come now, and let us reason together (saith the Lord himself to his people, *Esa.* 1. 18.) If the learned Gentleman, the Author of the mentioned Observations, would vouchsafe that courtesie to himself and me, that we might *reason together* the points in difference between us, without either undue aspersing one the other, or wresting the sayings one of another, or exasperating those that stand by to behold the encounter, against one another; he were a man with whom I could willingly live and die; yea and could make treasure of the least interest that should be vouchsafed unto me in his acquaintance. For my part, I trust, that thorough his Grace who hath commanded me, *not to be overcome of evill, but to overcome evill with good*, I shall be able to carry along my Answer without any of those miscarriages: but whether my Antagonist hath steer'd the course of this Christian equitie and fairnesse in his *Observations*, the first part of this Answer shall informe: In the latter, the strength of his reasonings shall have a faire and Christian Triall.

To begin with that, wherewith he ends, (which yet was the beginning of the whole ſyſteme of this diſcourſe againſt me; for that which is *ultimum in executione*, is ſtill *primum in intentione*. Whereas he incenſeth the Parliament againſt me, as one *that hath preſumptuouſly undermined the undoubted priviledges thereof by the very roots; and withall chargeth me with ſeverall Anti-Parliamentary paſſages, diametrally contrary to my Nationall Vow and Covenant*; yea and (that which is the firſt-born of all his bitter and bloudy inſinuations againſt me) preacheth this Doctrine to the Parliament, that *they cannot without higheſt perjury permit any wilfully thus to violate their Priviledges in the moſt publique manner*; I anſwer,

1. That I have no wayes *undermined* (leaſt of all, done any ſuch thing *preſumptuouſly*) any *undoubted priviledge of Parliament*, but have from the firſt to the laſt, with all uprightneſſe and ſingleneſſe of heart, as in the preſence of God, with all my might, and all my ſtrength, by Preaching, Writing, Conference, and otherwiſe, endevoured to aſſert and vindicate the Authoritie, power, and priviledges of Parliament, to the utmoſt height I was able by the moſt diligent and unpartiall contemplation to diſcerne their elevation. If I have not been, or yet am not ſo quick-ſighted, or ſo able of diſcerning to take their true altitude and height, as ſome others, I truſt this weakneſſe and incapacitie in my judgement and underſtanding, may be atoned with a more gentle ſacrifice, then to be arraigned as a *preſumptuous underminer of the undoubted priviledges of Parliament*, or to ſuffer after the inſupportable rate of ſuch a charge. If I have denied the leaſt dram or ſcruple of that Power, which is truly Parliamentary and conſiſtent with the word of the great and glorious God (of which miſdemeanor I am not in the leaſt meaſure conſcious to my ſelf as yet) I moſt ſeriouſly and ſolemnly profeſſe in the preſence of this God (my conſcience bearing me witneſſe in the Holy Ghoſt, that I lie not) that I did it out of a loving, tender, and affectionate jealouſie over the Parliament, leſt poſſibly they might daſh their foot againſt that Stone, by which all Rule, and all Authoritie and power, will one day be broken in pieces. So that if either my tongue or pen have in the leaſt miſcarried upon that point, I may truly ſay that it was, *Error amoris*, not *amor erroris*, which cauſed that miſcarriage. I confeſſe I am in the habituall and ſtanding frame of my heart and ſpirit,

tender

tender and jealous over all the world, and much more over thoſe who are deare unto me, but moſt of all over thoſe who being deare unto me, are likewiſe more expoſed then others unto the tentation and danger of the ſin; extreamly jealous and tender (I ſay) I am over ſuch, leſt they ſhould touch with any title or claime the moſt ſacred and incommunicable royalties and priviledges of Heaven, and ſo count it no robbery to make themſelves equall to God; knowing moſt aſſuredly, that this is a high provocation in the eyes of the moſt High, and if continued in, will kindle a fire in the breſt of him whoſe Name is *Jealous*, which will conſume and devoure.

But 2. poſitively to determine and judge, That I ſhould tranſgreſſe the trangreſſion charged upon me, *preſumptuouſly*, is little leſſe then to claime part and fellowſhip with God himſelfe in the incommunicable property and priviledge of his *Omniſcience*, or heart-ſearching. It is to the heighth of the line of the greateſt and wiſeſt of men, poſitively to determine and conclude that to be a ſin, which men of excellent and ſingular endowments, as well of Grace & Holineſs, as of Learning, Judgement, and Underſtanding, (and theſe not a few) have not only demurr'd upon, whether it be a ſin, or no; but (many of them) upon grounds and reaſons of very noble and conſiderable importance, determined the caſe *in oppoſitum*, concluding the fact in Queſtion to be no ſin: but to determine and conclude further, that he that hath done ſuch a thing, hath not onely ſinn'd, but ſinn'd with ſuch or ſuch a frame of heart, or upon ſuch and ſuch terms as are ſecret, and diſcernible only by God (as wilfulneſſe and preſumption in ſinning, for the moſt part are) is to magnifie a mans ſelfe above all that is called man, and to ſet himſelfe downe in Gods Throne.

3. In caſe it could be prov'd that I have either ſaid or writen any thing derogatory to the *undoubted priviledges of Parliament*, yet that I ſhould do either, *wilfully* or *preſumptuouſly*, (as the tenour of my endictment runs from the fore-named pen) is ſuch a charge which men, whoſe ungrounded zeal hath not eaten out the heart of their charitie, cannot lightly but re-charge with unreaſonableneſſe, and utter unlikelihood of truth; and that upon theſe two grounds, (beſides many others:)

I. Becauſe the uninterrupted and conſtant tenour of my deportment

portment and carriage from the beginning of this Parliament, untill this houre, hath been fully Parliamentary. If I should boast, that to my power, *I have not been behinde the very greatest* of those, that have built up the Parliamentary cause with the highest hand, and with the loyallest heart; I know that I should not be ashamed in this behalf. Some of my Adversaries themselves in place, have given a large testimony of my faithfulnesse and diligence in this kind. Now, as the Poet saith, *Nemo repentè fuit turpissimus*: It is the most unreasonable and incredible thing under Heaven, that a man on the sudden, within the space of a day, and lesse, without any cause or provocation given, should of a friend deeply ingaged, and firmly resolved for the Parliament, be transformed into a *presumptuous and wilfull underminer of their undoubted Priviledges.*

II. The Grounds and Reasons which I have given in by way of account for that opinion, which is the great strife-maker between the Gentlemans pen and mine (together with many others ingaged in the same warfare, and which are in every mans hand; particularly the ten Reasons propounded and argued in a Treatise not long since published, called *M. S.* to *A. S.* p. 56, 57, *&c.* which have not been answered hitherto, no, not so much as with Answers so called; and which the Gentleman could not lightly think, but that I should have seen) being of that weight, and worthy that consideration which many sober and knowing men acknowledge, cannot but in the thoughts and apprehensions of all reasonable men, justifie me, at least from any *presumptuous* or *wilfull undermining the undoubted Priviledges of Parliament* thereby.

4. How can the Gentleman call that *a good pen* (as he doth mine, *p.* 23. *l.* 4.) which is a *presumptuous and wilfull underminer of the undoubted Priviledges of Parliament?* is not his pen of the conspiracy, and made an accessary, by giving such a testimony to the principall?

5. Whereas he chargeth me, with I know not how many *Anti-Parliamentary passages, diametrally opposite to the Nationall Vow and Covenant*, but instanceth in none, save only that, wherein himselfe was touch'd, and that (God knoweth) very gently, and with far more honour then censure. I answer; that certainly no part or passage of the *Covenant*, did intend (a) that any man should obliege himself by oath or otherwise, either unto God or man, to maintain either

(a) *Omnis lex obligat secundum rectam voluntatem legislatoris obligantis.*

either such a Power or such Priviledges, as the power and Priviledges of Parliament, which hee sees no sufficient ground or reason to call or judge such, at least, that hee should maintain them for such, during this state and posture of his judgement and conscience; because this had been to require of men, that thy would ingage themselves by Oath and Covenant to sin; which intention, if any such had been in those that imposed the Covenant, had been *diametrally* opposite to the end of the Covenant it self, which was the safety, benefit, and blessing of God upon the three kingdomes; yea, that supreme Authority it self, from which the Covenant issued with an injunction to have it generally taken, gave liberty of interpretation thereof, both unto the Ministers, who were to explain it unto, as well as to presse it upon the people; and likewise unto those who were respectively required to take it. Without which liberty of interpretation evident it is to those that converse with men, that many thousands would have refused it, who have now submitted themselves and their consciences unto it. So that the Gentleman doth but beat the aire in this charge of *Anti-Parliamentary passages diametrally contrary to the Nationall Vow and Covenant:* He hath not as yet proved any one passage of mine to be so much as *Anti-Parliamentary*; much lesse any *diametrally contrary to that Vow and Covenant.*

Surely the Divines and Commissioners of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, who were accessaries, if not principalls in the first penning of the *Covenant*, must needs be presum'd to know the intent & meaning of it, as well as any other: and yet they publikely, and in print, profess and maintain the same doctrine (for substance, as will presently appear) for wch I am cast at the barre of Mr. *Prinne's* tribunall, as one of the greatest delinquents throughout the whole kingdome.

6. (And lastly, for those lines mentioned) whereas he seeks to baptize the Parliament into a spirit of much severity against mee, by suggesting to them, *that they cannot without highest perjury permit any thus wilfully to violate their Priviledges, &c.* I answer, and subscribe to him with both my hands; they *cannot* indeed *without sin permit any wilfull violation of their undoubted priviledges:* nor do I desire, nor have I any need or occasion to desire of them, that they should dispence with so sacred an obligation upon them for my sake. Let either Mr. *Prynne*, or any other, evict mee of any *wilfull violation of these Priviledges*, and no man shall be more ready then I, *to crave their pardon*, or else to *undergo their justice*; nay, if I shall be convinced of any *violation* at all of *those Priviledges, wilfull* or *unwilfull*, (and I shall be as willing as willingnesse it self can make me, to further such a conviction all that may be) I shall repent my self, and abhorre mine error in dust and ashes. I should be the maddest worm under heaven, to give offence to that foot which

which is ſo able to cruſh me, if I had not full conſideration for the hazard I run thereby in mine own ſoul.

But as concerning that Opinion or Doctrine, which Mr. *Prynne* burthens with *Anti-Parliamentariſme*, and whereby I am charged *preſumptuouſly to undermine the undoubted priviledges of Parliament by the very roots*; I deſire both him and all the world, to conſider, whether it hath not a great concurrence, of the judgements and conſciences of men of greateſt worth and learning; yea, of whole Nationall Churches in their authorized writings; yea, whether the ſubſtance and import of it to the full, yea, and more in this kinde then I have ever ſaid, or printed, or think ſafe or fitting to ſay, hath not been publikely, and in print delivered amongſt us, by perſons no wayes ſuſpected of *Anti-parliamentarineſſe* in any kinde; yea, and in ſuch books, for which the Author (if hee miſtakes not in caſting up the accompt of his own thanks and praiſes) hath had large conſiderations in both, from many Parliament men.

I begin at home; and appeal to any man of unpartiall thoughts, whether theſe enſuing Paſſages faithfully tranſcribed out of that much admired piece, intituled, *Antapologia*, ſet forth by Mr. *Th. Edwards*, do not contain, and that *ſecundum ſub & ſupra* (as the Schoolmen ſpeak) the heighth and depth of that Doctrine, for which I muſt not be innocent, except the Parliament means to be *guilty of perjury, and that of the higheſt.*

Pag. 163. He affirmes, that *Junius, Zanchius, Ameſius*, &c. *make the ſubject matter of Politicall adminiſtration to be*, res humanæ, *humane things and matters*; *but of Eccleſiaſticall, Divine, and Sacred*, &c.

Again, *p.* 166. of this ſame Diſcourſe, hee hath this paſſage: Or, 3. *Is it that you do give a power to the Magiſtrate in Eccleſiaſticall things, of the* ultimate determination *of matters purely Eccleſiaſticall, which the Presbyterians-principles do not, as in matters of Doctrine, Scandall*, &c.

Yet again, *p.* 168. *When the Queſtion is of Church matters, and matters of conſcience, and of the inner-man, and of the Kingdome of Chriſt, the remedies and meanes appointed for theſe are Spirituall and Eccleſiaſticall*, viz. *ſpirituall puniſhments*; Chriſt ſaith, *My Kingdome is not of this world*, &c. and the Apoſtle, 2 Cor. 10. 3, 4, 5. *The weapons of our warfare are not carnall*, &c. *Spirituall remedies and*

meanes

means must be used in the Kingdome of Christ, and by them Christ doth his work. And hence in Ecclesiasticall Discipline, and those scandalls in the Church, which are the point in hand; punishments in the body, or in the purse, *which can be by the power of the Magistrate, have no place.*

Again, *p.* 170. *First, there be many sins and errors, which the Christian Magistrate meddles not with, are not matters of his cognizance, if you would have recourse unto him:* Or, *if the sentence of non-communion be pronounced against a Church, because of impenitency in them, he hath nothing to do to assist or back it, &c.* According to the tenor of this Doctrine, the civill Magistrate hath nothing to do, to fortifie or *back any sentence*, determination, or decree of the Church:

Yet again, *p.* 174. of the same Treatise: *Hath not the wisdome of Christ provided remedies in the Church, for all the internall necessities of the Church, and constituted it a perfect body within it self?*

Again, *p.* 256. Hee speaketh plainly, and speaketh no Parable; that *the Parliament interposeth no Authority to determine what Government shall be*; therefore his opinion appeares to be either that the Parliament hath no *Authority*, or at least intends not to make use of it in determining a Government.

Page 74. of the same Discourse, he presents *Cameron* allowing *the Church a power to ordain and appoint Rites, &c.* but with this caution and proviso: *dum tamen nihil officiant aut sinceritati doctrinæ, aut libertati conscientiæ; cui propriè leges præscribit non nisi Deus*, i. upon condition that they neither prejudice the soundnesse of Doctrine, nor the liberty of mens consciences; unto which God himselfe alone properly is the Law-giver.

Page 170. He cites this testimony in the margine out of *Zanchy*, and that with full approbation of the contents of it (a) *Moreover, there are many evills which the Christian Magistrate is not wont to meddle with by way of punishment, nor yet is bound by his Lawes to do it, as private quarrells, and heart-burnings between man and man, partaking with Idolaters in an impious or unlawfull worship, dissembling the true Religion; and to conclude, there are many evill carriages, both private and publike, which do not trouble or disturb either the publike peace, or honesty, and the publike profit. The Church indeed ought not to suffer these, but to reforme them according to Christs institution, &c.*

(a) Adhæc, multa etiam sunt scelera, in quæ ne Magistratus quidem Christianus animadvertere solet, aut tenetur ex legibus suis, veluti sunt privatæ inimicitiæ, simultates, participatio cũ idololatris in aliquo impio cultu, dissimulatio veræ Religionis: denique multi mali mores, tum domestici, tum publici, qui non turbant aut pacem publicam, aut honestatem, & commodum publicum, Ecclesia ne ista quidem ferre debet, sed corrigere juxta Christi institutum. *Zanch.* de Discip. Ecclesiast.

But laſtly, for this Domeſtique Author, whoſe judgement and abilities for the cauſe hee undertakes, I finde ſo much magnified, hee hath a ſaying, *pag.* 169. of the fore-mentioned Treatiſe, diſhonourable indeed (in my apprehenſion) to the Civill Magiſtrate, and wherein I can at no hand ſubſcribe unto him. *The power of the Magiſtrate* (ſaith he) *by which hee puniſheth ſin, doth not ſubſerve to the Kingdome of Chriſt the Mediator.* I conceive far otherwiſe of *this power*, and that the main end and moſt excellent uſe of it, conſiſts in a *ſubſerviency to the Kingdome of Chriſt the Mediator.* The moſt noble exerciſe and imployment of civill power, is (doubtleſs) to provide for the immunity and peace of the Saints within their juriſdictions, to protect them againſt all injuries and violence of men, by Edicts, Statutes, and Lawes, with the due adminiſtration and execution of them, to provide that ſuch *may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſſe and honeſty* (as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh) that *the Goſpel may run* freely, and without interruption, (and *be glorified*, if God ſhall vouchſafe to proſper the miniſtery of it accordingly) thoroughout their dominions. In a word, whatſoever maketh for the benefit, ſafety, and honour of the whole Community and ſociety of perſons fearing God within the limits of their juriſdiction, without the preſſure or juſt grievance of others, the Civill Magiſtrate (I conceive) hath not only a power, but a neceſſity by way of duty lying upon him, to interpoſe for the procuring and eſtabliſhing of ſuch things. Of this nature were all thoſe ingagements, *Statutes*, and *Decrees*, of *Cyrus*, *Artaxerxes*, *Darius*, *and other heathen Princes and Magiſtrates*, *for the building of Gods Temple*, *and advancement of his Worſhip*, which Mr. *Prinne* inſiſts upon, *p.* 23. but quite beſides the point in difference between him and me. For theſe *Princes* and *Magiſtrates* did not by any of their *Statutes* or *Decrees*, impoſe any thing upon the people of God in point of worſhip under mulcts and penalties, much leſſe did they ſo impoſe any thing upon the generality of them, which was controverſall, and matter of conſcience between them, by means of which impoſition, the one half of them ſhould have been gratified, and the other half ruin'd and oppreſſed. But thoſe *Statutes* and *Decrees* equally reſpected the common and publique good of them all, and contained nothing oppreſſive to the judgements or conſciences of any, nor any new determination of any thing appertaining

1 Tim. 2. 2.

pertaining to the *worship and service of God*, under *mulcts and penalties.*

But concerning the point which is made matter of such high accusation against me, besides the judgement of Mr. *Edwards*, so significantly and expresly, and that over and over, concurring therein, there are other Authors of our owne, who have every whit *in as publique a manner* as I held forth the same unto the world, and that without the least check or controulement by any, that ever I (or I think any man else) heard of. *All the chiefe Writers of our age* (saith Mr. Hayward [a]) *are now reduced to the former opinion, affirming with Arnobius that Religion is of power sufficient for it self: with Tertullian, Lactantius, Cassiodrius, Josephus, Bernard, and others, that Religion must be perswaded, not inforced.* And that is most remarkable in this testimony, that the Author therein affirms, that this opinion against the *inforcing of Religion*, was both the ancient opinion in the Church of God, and is now againe become the generall opinion of *the best Writers in our age.* The same Author in the same Chapter (somewhat before the words last cited) lays downe these as Maximes or common rules; That *it is foolish to adde externall stay, to that which is sufficient to support it self*; That *it is senslesse to attempt that by force, which no force is able to effect*; That *that which hath a proper rule, must not be directed by any other.*

(a) Hayward in his answer to *K. Dolman*, dedicated to King *James*, cap. 9.

Bishop *Jewel*, in his Answer to *Hardings* Confutation, *pag.* 432. hath this saying to him; *As for our part, we were never yet guiltie to one drop of your bloud: we seek no aid at fire or sword.* Let this Text be truly interpreted, and it will afford the same doctrine with mine.

The Divines of the Church of *Scotland*, Discipl. lib. 2. p. 89. write thus: *The Nationall assemblies ought alwayes to be received in their own liberty and have their own place — And all men, as well Magistrate as inferiours, to be subject to the judgement of the same in Ecclesiasticall causes without any reclamation or appellation to any Judge, Civill or Ecclesiasticall, within the Realme.*

And again, p. 91. of the same Book; *The Magistrate neither ought to preach, minister the Sacraments, nor execute the censures of the Kirk,*

nor yet prescribe any rule how it should be done,

but command the Ministers to observe the rule commanded in the Word, and punish transgressors by civill means.— The Magistrate OUGHT *to assist, maintaine, and fortifie the Jurisdiction of the Kirk: the Ministers* SHOULD *assist their Princes.*

The same Divines in another book of theirs, called *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland*, p. 146. write thus: *Now therefore, wee firmly hold, that the Prince may not innovate any Custome or Rite of the Church, nor* publish any Ecclesiasticall Law, *without the free assent of the Clergie, &c. yea, further, that so far as is possible, the consent of the whole Church ought to be had, whensoever any change is to be made of some Order or Custome in the Church.* A few lines after, *p.* 147. they cite this saying (with approbation) out of *Baldus* De Cas. Consc. l. 4. c. 11. Cas. 2. *They who were Orthodox did ever withstand such a Magistrate as would have by his commandments tied the Church to that which was burthensome to their consciences.* And yet again in the same *page: It belongeth to the Synod (the Clergie having the chiefe place therein to give direction and advice) not to receive and approve the definition of the Prince in things which concerne the worship of God, but it selfe to define and determine what Orders and Customes are fittest to be observed, &c.*

Again, *p.* 149. *The Prince may command a Synod of the Church to judge of Ecclesiasticall things and actions, and to define what Order and Policy is most convenient to be observed in divine worship; yet hee* may not by himself define *and direct such matters,* nor make any Lawes *there anent.*

Again, *p.* 148. having cited much out of *Junius*, concerning the difference between the Civill and Ecclesiasticall Administration, in respect of the subject matter of either, the close of this long citation they make thus. *But humane things, wee call such duties as touch the life, the body, goods, and good name, as they are expounded in the second table of the Decalogue: for these are the things in which the whole Civill administration standeth.* Yet again, *p.* 150. *It followeth that Christ hath committed the power of judging, defining, and making Lawes about those matters,* (viz. *which concern the worship of God,* not to Magistrates, *but to the Ministers of the Church.*

Again,

Again, *p.* 150. *Surely, if it belong to Princes to define and ordain what Order and Policy ſhould be obſerved in the Church, for the orderly and right managing of the exerciſes of Gods worſhip — then muſt Princes take alſo upon them a great part of that charge of Paſtors, to watch for the ſoules of men.* Learned Mr. *Rutherford*, one of the Commiſſioners for the Church of *Scotland*, in his late Booke, intituled, *The due Rights of Preſbyteries*, part. 2. *p.* 403. writeth thus: *The King as King*, hath not a nomothetick or Legiſlative power to make Laws in matters Eccleſiaſtique *in a conſtitute Church, nor hath hee a definitive ſentence as a Judge.* Another paſſage hee hath to the ſame effect, *p.* 389 yea, hee profeſſedly handles, and maintaines this concluſion, that *the ordinary power of the Magiſtrate is not to make Church-Lawes*, from *page* 404. of the ſecond part of that work, to *page* 423. incluſively.

Maſter *Fox*, *Act. & Mon. p.* 1338. (of the ancient impreſſion) records this paſſage out of a book, written (as is affirmed) by that worthy Martyr, Maſter *Tyndall*, and cenſured by the Popiſh Biſhops of thoſe times, as hereticall: *The new Teſtament of Chriſt will not ſuffer any Law of compulſion, but only of counſell and exhortation.* And again, *p.* 1337. *All things neceſſary are declared in the new Teſtament: but no man is compelled, but according to their own will.*

Calvin Inſtitut. l. 4. c. 11. § 16. *denies the Church to have any compulſive power in it; yea, and denies it to be lawfull for the Church to ſeek for any ſuch power, at the hand of the civill Magiſtrate: only affirming, that it is the duty of Religious Kings and Princes to ſupport Religion, by Lawes, Edicts and Judicatories*, (viz.) of that kinde and nature, of which the Lawes, and Statutes of *Cyrus*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius*, before mentioned were.

Nam cum Eccleſia cogendi non habeat poteſtatem, neq; expetere debeat (de civili coercitione loquor) piorum Regum ac Principum partes ſunt legibus, edictis, judiciis Religionē ſuſtentare.

Beza likewiſe in his Tractate *De Hæreticis, à magiſtr. puniendis*, *p.* 93. hath theſe words: *Condendarum enim conſcientiæ legum poteſtatem Deus nulli hominum fecit: neq; ferre poteſt quenquam hominum animis præter ſe unum dominari*; that is, God hath not given power unto any man whatſoever, to make Lawes for the conſciences of men: nor can hee indure that any but himſelf ſhould beare rule over the mindes of men.

Jacobus

Jacobus Acontius, a man of much piety and worth, who fled for his Conſcience, took Sanctuary at this Kingdome, in his book intituled, *Stratagemata Sathanæ*, dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, reprinted at *Oxford* 1631. *pag.* 166. writeth to this effect; (*) *That he* (*meaning Chriſt, in the parable of the tares*) *might provide for the ſafety of the true ſervants of God, denied all power, even to pious and prudent Magiſtrates themſelves, of puniſhing Heretiques, leſt thoſe that are impious and unwiſe, ſhould make an evill uſe of their example againſt the good ſervants of God.*

(a) Ut verorũ Dei ſervorum ſaluti conſuleret, negavit [Chriſtus] piis ac prudentib⁹ magiſtratibus in veros hæreticos animadvertendi poteſtatem, ne eorum exemplo impii atq; imprudentes in pios abuterentur Dei ſervos.

Againe, *pag.* 164. thus; (b) *The Lord verily definitively declared that Magiſtrates are not competent Judges of opinions* [in matter of Religion,] *but prohibited all ſuch juriſdiction unto them.*

(b) Dominus profectò definitè declaravit, Magiſtratus non eſſe idoneos dogmatum Judices, interdixítq; illis talis juriſdictionis uſu omni. &c.

Yet againe the ſame Author in the ſame Diſcourſe, *pag.* 165. (c) *Theſe kinds of judgements appertaine not to the Magiſtrate, but onely to the Son of God, who in the laſt day will ſeparate the tares from the wheat by his Angels.* Beſides much more to the ſame purpoſe.

(c) Hæc quidẽ judiciorũ genera ad Magiſtratum non pertinent, ſed ad ſolum Dei filium, qui in noviſſimo die per Angelos ſeparaturus ſit à tritico zizania.

Junius, *Controverſ.* 3. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 26. *ſect.* 12. hath theſe words; (d) *Whereas ſome things are matters of conſcience, and* (*to ſpeak with the Canoniſts*) *belong to the judicatory of Heaven; others, humane and temporall, appertaining to an earthly judicatory; the judicature of things that are ſacred, divine, and eccleſiaſtique, was never* lawfully *conſigned or given to the Civill Magiſtrate, no not to the Emperour himſelfe; becauſe holy things are of another kingdome and cognizance.*

(d) Cum res aliæ ſunt conſcientiæ, ad forum cœli (ut cũ Canoniſtis loquamur) pertinentes, aliæ ſunt humanæ atq; βιωτικαὶ, ad forum ſoli; in rebus ſacris, divinis, eccleſiaſticis nunquam judicium Magiſtratui Civili, ac ne Imperatori quidem delatum eſt legitimè: quia res ſacræ ſunt regni & cognitionis alterius.

P. *Martyr. Loc. Com. Claſ.* 4. *loc.* 4. *ſect.* 1. (e) affirms, *that the judicature or judgement of ſpirituall things, ought onely to be granted unto ſpirituall men.*

(e) *As he is cited by* Apollonius, Jus Majeſtatis circa ſacra. part. 2. *p.* 261. Hinc Martyr ſcribit tantùm ſpiritualibus rerum divinarum judicia deferri oportere.

Gulielmus

Gulielmus Apollonius, a learned Minister in *Zealand*, and yet living, in his writings intituled, *Jus Majestatis circa sacra*, is full of the Doctrine contained in the former testimonies. In the former part of the said book, he begins his fift Chapter thus; (a) *The consciences of men, in things purely spirituall, are not subject to the commands of men: matters of conscience are not commanded by a coactive armed power, but to be promoted according to the nature of Christs kingdome, which mainly requires a willing people.* And a few lines after adds, that (b) *Christ alone reserves unto himselfe, the command and legislative power over his Church.*

(a) Conscientiæ hominum in rebus, purè spiritualibus, non subjacent Imperio hominum: potestate coactivâ armatâ, non imperantur res conscientiæ, quæ secundum naturam regni Christi, quod voluntarium maximè populum deposcit, procurandæ sunt. (b) Solo Christo sibi Imperium & legislationem in Ecclesiam reservante.

Againe, *pag.* 260. (c) *Therefore the power of the Magistrate is coactive, and commands even him that is unwilling, according to the Apostle, Rom.* 13. *Therefore by the Authoritie of his place, and as a Prince, he doth not interpose or rule in judgements concerning Religion, which are suasive, and he are rule onely over him that is willing.* It were easie, if necessary, out of the writings of men of the most approved judgements, and greatest abilities and worth in every kind, since the Reformation, to make the pile of testimonies, for the confirmation of the premisses, far greater. To which also, if I intended any large discourse, divers Authorities out of the ancient Fathers might be added; But I shall conclude with that of *Hierome* in *Esa.* who expresseth himself thus: (d) *I wish we would kill or slay the sons of heretiques, and of all those that are deceived, with spirituall arrowes, I meane texts and testimonies of the Scriptures.*

(c) Potestas igitur Magistratus coactiva est, & involûtario etiam imperat, juxta Apostolum, Rom. 13. Muneris igitur Authoritate judicia Religioni, quæ suasoria sunt, & tantum voluntario imperant, non administrat, quâ Princeps.

(d) Utinam filios hereticorum & omnium qui decepti sunt, spiritualibus interficiam sagittis, *i.* testimoniis Scripturarum.

I shall not for the present make any further breach upon my Readers patience, by any further accumulation of Authors or Testimonies. I trust it fully appeares by those already presented, that I have neither said nor written any thing, but what for the substances, scope, and import of it, runs parallel with the judgements and writings of the most orthodox and approved Writers of all ages, both ancient and moderne, as well domestique as forein. In which respect I have a pregnant ground of much confidence, that I have not any wayes (especially not *wilfully*, not *presumptuously*) *violated* the least of the many and great *undoubted* privi-

ledges

ledges of Parliament, having kept my ſelfe ſo cloſe to the ſo generally received and profeſſed principles of mine owne profeſſion. The leaſt glimmering of that light, which ſhould diſcover ſuch an impious and unchriſtian miſcarriage in me as this, would be as the ſhadow of death unto me.

But beſides that grand and bloudy ſuggeſtion againſt me, that I ſhould *preſumptuouſly and wilfully undermine the undoubted Priviledges of Parliament by the very roots*, (a crime which my ſoul from the very root abhorreth) there are others of like nature, though not degree, wherewith the Gentleman hath ſtain'd his paper here and there, which will prove *dead flies* in his own box, not in mine. Hee chargeth mee, *p.* 21. that *in ſtead of my Pariſhioners, I have gathered an Independent Congregation to my ſelf, out of divers Pariſhes, and mine own; that I preſcribe a Covenant to them before they be admitted members of it: that I neglect my Pariſhioners, preaching but ſeldome unto them, though I receive their tithes.* If theſe things (or almoſt any one of them) be true, let Mr. *Prynne* keep his honour and place at the barre, and let me be hoyſted; but if otherwiſe, *contrariorum contraria ſint conſequentia.* But let me anſwer.

1. I am, and ever have been ſo far from *neglecting my Pariſhioners in preaching ſeldome to them*, that it will be acknowledged (I verily believe) by ſome hundreds of them, that ſcarce any Miniſter in or about the City, or throughout the whole kingdome, have been more diligent, laborious, frequent or conſtant, in the work of the Miniſtery, then I have been amongſt them from my firſt coming unto them, unto this day: For ſeverall yeers together (without ſome ſpeciall hinderance) I preached conſtantly thrice, often four times; ſometimes five or ſix times in a week unto them. And whereas their Covenant and agreement with mee was (under the hands of ſome of them in writing) upon my condeſcending to their requeſt, of preaching two expoſitory lectures weekly unto them, to finde me an aſſiſtant to preach once on the Lords Day, this aſſiſtant, after ſome ſhort continuance, departing to a place of better accommodation, whileſt I was able, I both continued my two weekly Lectures, and beſides preached twice unto them on the Lords Day by my ſelf, when I was able; by the ableſt I could procure, when I was not able my ſelf, notwithſtanding, I never received ſo much as a penny (to my knowledge)

from

from any of them, for a whole yeares labour in preaching those two weekly Lectures; nor did I receive above 12.l.10.s. a yeere for them at any time. Since I was necessitated to discontinue these two weekly Lectures (for which, as I have said, I received nothing for a whole yeare together, nor was likely to receive any thing any more; though this was the least ground or reason of their discontinuance) I have upon the request of some of them, and that without either promise or hope of any pecuniary consideration at all from any man, ingaged my self (and performed hitherto, and that with advantage) to expound some part of the Scripture before Sermon on the Lords day, as oft as I should have libertie and opportunitie to preach my self. Nor did I ever diminish my Parishioners portion in my ministeriall labours or attendance in the least, for that Congregations sake, which the Gentleman is pleased to baptize by the name of *Independent*; nor did I ever preach to this Congregation apart from my Parishioners. Sometimes (I confesse) I prayed with them, and now and then debated a question in mine own house, but ever with my doore open, and libertie given to any of the Parishioners to come and partake in those exercises; which severall of them have from time to time accepted of, and been present with us. The reason why I preach not to some of them as oft as I was wont to doe, is onely becaus they doe not come so oft to heare me, as they were wont, yea my innocency in respect of this part of my charge, was fully attested under the hands of 45. of my Parishioners (the greatest part, if not the whole number of them, being of the best affected both to Parliament and Religion in the whole Parish) in a Petition tendered unto the Honourable Committee, before which I was called, for my continuance with them.

2. Whereas I am charged with *receiving their tithes*; my answer is, that I demand no tiths of any of them; nor have I, or ever had I any right to doe it; Nor have I ever received any thing from them in the nature of tiths, but as their voluntary Contribution; For this last half yeere I have received very little above 20.l. (excepting onely the one half of the yeerly rent of a small house, let sometimes but for 12, never for above 14.l. a yeer.) Out of which summe, 12.l. 10.s. being deducted for the rent of my house, the remainder is of as low a proportion, as envie her selfe lightly can desire

The Parsonage is impropriate in the Parishioners hands: the vicarage onely endowed with 11.l. *per Annum.*

desire for the maintenance of a Minister, his wife, and 7 children, (most of them very small) in such an expensive place as this City is. But if Mr. *Prynne* knew how small a proportion of subsistence it is that I now receive, and what my labour & pains are amongst *my Parishioners* notwithstanding, I verily beleeve, that in stead of upbraiding me with *receiving Tithes*, he would pity me that I receive no more. It is well knowne that there are many Ministers in and about the Citie, that receive more for preaching once a week; yea divers for preaching but once a fortnight, then I doe for preaching twice weekly, besides my labour in expounding, not much short of that in preaching; and yet I think there is no man that judgeth their consideration greater then their work. But as for those who found themselves aggrieved, and appeared petitioners against me, I understand by the Church-warden, who gathereth that slender allowance wch my Parishioners amongst them think me worthy of, that they have made a very provident use of their exceptions against me, and have sav'd their purses harmlesse for a long time.

3. Whereas he chargeth me *to have gathered an Independent Congregation to my selfe out of divers Parishes and mine own*, I answer:

1. That I know not what he means by *gathering*. If his meaning be, that I have gone about from place to place (as *gathering*, especially of severall things into one band or bundle, imports) to desire or perswade any man, man or woman, rich or poore, young or old, to be of my Congregation, or to the way wherein my Congregation walketh, I utterly deny the truth of this charge. I never opened my mouth to any person whatsoever to any such purpose, save only what I have publickly preached in the course of my Ministery in the face of my Parochiall Congregation. And what I have here said in this kind, there are many hundreds, if not some thousands to testifie. If by *gathering* such a Congregation as he speakes of, he means the receiving of persons upon their Christian requests and desires in a Church relation, and so as to become a Pastor unto them, in this sense (which is yet very unproperly called a gathering) I confesse this part of the charge (or commendation rather) to be in part true; I have with the consent of my Parishioners in a publick Vestry, received some

out

out of other Parishes in such a way; who yet have liberty upon request at any time (yea and without request, if they thinke not good to make it) to withdraw themselves to any other Pastor or Congregation, for their better accommodation in their spirituall affaires. Of what I have done in this, I am ready to give an account with meeknesse, unto any man that shall require it of me. But

2. Whereas I am further charged *to prescribe a covenant to them before they are admitted*, I answer, let them all be called before a Magistrate, and (if it be thought meet) examined upon oath, (though I beleeve there be very few of them but will speak the truth without any such ingagement) I doe not think there is any one of them that can say that there ever was any other covenant prescribed to them in reference to their admission, but onely their consent of walking with us, and that testified by themselves (without any prescription or injunction by me or others) in their own free desire and request of comming in to us. As for those agreements that were drawn in writing in a Parish Vestry, & which were brought in by me to the Committee before which I was called, besides that I had no more an hand then divers others in the draught or forming of them, they were never urged nor pressed upon any for their admission; but whosoever expressed any desire of comming in unto us, and joyning with us, if there were any Christian ground to judge them meet for such a relation, they were without any further covenanting entertained by us.

3. (And lastly to the charge in hand) whereas hee calls this Congregation of mine, *Independent*, by way of opposition to the Parishionall Congregation; my answer is, that I cannot understand, why or wherefore the one should be termed *Independent*, more then the other. I verily beleeve, that that which is called *Independent*, depends every whit as much upon God, upon the Scriptures, upon Principles of reason and equity, as the other, and claimes as little exemption from the authority or jurisdiction of any of these, as the other. And the truth is, that *dependency* upon these, is as much (for matter of *dependencie*) as can with reason or good conscience bee required or expected from any man. Dependencie upon man, is pronounced accursed by God.

Curſed be the man that truſteth in man, and maketh fleſh his arm, Jer. 17. 5. Or if by *Independent*, he means, that which will not ſubmit in the government of it, to that which ſhall be recommended or impoſed upon it by an Eccleſiaſtique authority ſuperior to it ſelfe; I anſwer, 1. That that which beares the heat and burthen of the name, cannot as yet (however) be called ſo, more then the other; becauſe there is nothing at all yet either recommended unto, or impoſed upon either, by any ſuch authority 2. Though haply it likes not *Impoſition* ſo cordially altogether as the other, yet let that which ſhall be *impoſed*, be according to the will of God, and mind of Chriſt, if God will pleaſe to give eyes unto it, whereby to ſee it, confident I am, (and doe hereby engage my ſelfe for it as farre as my intereſt reacheth) that it will and ſhall ſubmit as willingly, as cheerfully thereunto, as the other. If he therefore aſperſeth it with the name of *Independent*, becauſe it will not ſay, *God ſpeed* to him that bringeth the Doctrine of *blind obedience* unto it; I truſt it will (I am ſure it may) ſit down by the reproach, as by its glory. I am all thoughts made with the fulleſt aſſurance, that (for the generality of them) as well the Perſons as Congregations in the land ſir-named (but far out of the propriety of the word) *Independent*, will as ſoon ſubmit to be *led* by *a young child* (as the Prophet ſpeaks) in a way of reaſon and truth diſcovered unto them (much more by men of wiſdome and place) as any other either Perſons or Congregations whatſoever in the land.

Whereas my learned Accuſer further taxeth me, as having refuſed to baptize ſome children, and to adminiſter the Sacrament to my Pariſh for ſome months; I anſwer,

1. That for the latter, I have done nothing in it, but what hath been done by very many godly Miniſters in and about the Citie, (as is known to thouſands) yea moſt of them (if not all) of a different judgment from mine in the point of Church government, yea ſome of them (if my memory deales faithfully with me) of the Aſſembly it ſelfe.

2. I proffered unto that honorable Committee before whom was called, that if either themſelves, or any other would pleaſe to aſſigne me a rule by which I might ſafely walk in that adminiſtration, I ſhould be willing to take up again what I had laid down

down for a ſeaſon, and to accommodate with my Pariſhioners in that ordinance. For as for the rule preſcribed by the Rubrick in the book of Common prayer, themſelves ſeemed not ſo well ſatisfied with it.

3. For ſome of thoſe, who out of the ſmart of this ſoare petitioned againſt me, I beleeve they are ſo farre diſadvantaged by an incapacity of this ordinance, that the largeſt charity of a conſcientious Miniſter (of what judgment ſoever for Church-government) would not redeem them.

4. Whereas ſeverall Miniſters in and about the Citie, yea ſome of good report and eſteeme; nor ſhould I miſtake for matter of truth (whatever I may doe in point of good manners) if I ſhould ſay, ſo ne very neer related unto the Aſſembly it ſelfe, have demanded and had pretty conſiderable ſummes, ſome twenty pound, thirty pound, yea ſome fourty pound a yeare of their Pariſhioners onely for their conſent and leave that the Goſpell might be preached unto them out of their Pulpits, by ſuch a Miniſter or Lecturer as they ſhould chuſe; I have been ſo far from tying my Pariſhioners to this appletree, that I not only gave my conſent freely unto them to chuſe what Miniſter they pleaſed, either to preach or to deliver the Sacrament unto them, but further offered them twenty, thirty, yea, if it were fourty pound a year out of mine own allowance (in caſe they would ſtil continue it to their former proportion; for otherwiſe I could not be able) toward the making up a valuable conſideration unto him for his pains whom they ſhould chuſe in ſuch a way.

5. (And laſtly) for the latter; I confeſſe, that ſince my firſt comming to the place and people with whom I yet am (which wants but a little of eleven yeares compleat) I have refuſed the baptizing of two or three children of my Pariſh; but upon ſuch grounds, the opening whereof (if it were meet to publiſh them) would (I verily beleeve) make all conteſtation and complaint againſt me in this behalfe aſhamed. I feare, I have made my ſelfe a farre greater tranſgreſſor, by not refuſing, then by refuſing in this kind. And beſides, if my intelligence will beare the weight of that confidence which I lay upon it (as I think it will) in caſe ſuch omiſſions or refuſals as theſe, be juſt matter of offence, the Aſſembly it ſelf will not in all the Presbyterian members thereof be found innocent.

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The third and last grievance of which I complain in my over-offended adversary, and petition the wits and charity of men in all their conjunctions throughout the world for reliefe; is his extraction of so many crooked conclusions of his own out of my streight premises. It is somewhat an hard case, when one man shall beget children, and another be made to keep them. Because I say in my Epistle, that *there is cause to feare, lest the truth, which onely is able to make us free, should by being rejected and opposed by us, increase our bondage and misery*: And because I onely cite that saying of *Nazianzene*, p. 44. that *he never saw good end, or desirable successe of any Councell, or that they procured any decrease, but rather increase of evils*, with some few other as innocent and well meant sayings as these, he chargeth me (p. 18. l. 1.) with *tacitly reflecting upon the present religious Parliament and Assembly, raising needlesse feares and jealousies of them both in matters of Religion and Church government, as if they really intended to increase our misery and bondage, by rejecting and oppressing Truth.* Surely the worst digestion that ever was, never made such gall of such hony in any mans stomach. I wonder what Logicall sympathy, or Symbolicall property there is between my foundations, and Mr. *Prynnes* superstructions? They have not so much as a quartile aspect the one upon the other. Because I say, *There is cause to feare, lest the truth being rejected and opposed, should increase our bondage and misery*, (which is nothing else but what the Scriptures themselves will abundantly justifie and warrant) doth it therefore follow, that I *reflect, or raise needlesse feares and jealousies, either of Parliament, or Assembly?* When the Apostle *Paul* wrote thus to the whole Church of Corinth: *Know yee not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdome of God? Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor theeves, &c. shall inherit the Kingdome of God*; did he reflect upon the chiefe persons amongst them, or *raise needlesse feares and jealousies of them* in the mindes of the rest, as if he suspected them more then others for the practice of such sins? Was it not a serious admonition, a cautionary doctrine that equally respected them all, without the least accusation of any? I doe not say, that *there is cause to feare lest the truth should be rejected* or oppressed by any, or any sort or rank of persons amongst us; I onely professe my feare, that in case it shall

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be no better intreated by us, it will increaſe our bondage and miſery, from what rank or ſort of men ſoever amongſt us it ſhall ſuffer in that kind. Such dealings as theſe with a mans harmleſſe and inoffenſive ſayings, are a temptation of like tendency and danger, with that which *David* encountred, when he reaſoned thus with himſelf; *Verily I have cleanſed my heart in vain, and waſhed my hands in innocency.* If a man had the leaſt mind to pick a quarrell againſt all faire and faultleſſe ſpeaking, and to ſpeak nothing but ſwords, and ſpears, and hot burning coals for the time to come, ſuch conſtructions as theſe are, are proper nouriſhment for ſuch an inclination to feed fat upon; yea enough to ſet the *ſmoaking flax* into a lightſome *flame*. But that God, whoſe Grace hath been ſhield and buckler unto mine innocency in this kinde hitherto, will (I truſt) protect it by the ſame hand, in the midſt of theſe and all other provocations whatſoever, untill the day of its coronation. Jeſus Chriſt did not give over his gracious occupation of caſting out Devils, becauſe ſome charged him that through *Beelzebub* he caſt them out. *Malè audire, cùm benè feceris, Regium eſt.* Some other impeachments there are of like nature with this, managed againſt me in that paper, which hath interrupted my peace and ſtudies hitherto; but it is the fate of ungrounded imputations, *Spreta exoleſcunt*, they ſoone *wax old and vaniſh away*, if they be neglected.

Thus have I fairly, and (I truſt) fully acquitted my ſelfe in all things charged upon me, by way of demerit, and crime, in Mr. *Prynnes* Obſervations. What further is charg'd herein upon me by way of weakneſſe, and inſufficiency, in point of argument and reaſon; I muſt crave a few dayes reſpit, and I doubt not but I ſhall bring in a faire account of this charge alſo. As for that emptie Pamphlet, called *Faces about*; the Author of it, what *face* or *faces ſoever he had* (for it may be he carries two in a hood) it ſeemes he dares ſhew none. He feares his Name would have ſuffered, if it had been ſeen in the company of ſuch a piece. Yet the truth is, that the paper is a glaſſe, and there is the face of a man (ſuch as it is) to be ſeene in it. The man that looks out from behind the lattiſes of the lines of it, is ignorant that the Lord of glory was numbred amongſt tranſgreſſors, and crucified between two theeves:

theeves: or else he would never have thought to disparage me, by putting me into the same account with *Socinians* and *Arminians*. It is the saying of a Roman Historian: *Post Carthaginem, vinci neminem puduit*; After *Carthage* was taken by the Romans, no Citie or Nation thought it any discredit to be overcome by them. Jesus Christ being crucified with malefactors, hath spoyl'd their market, that desire to sell mens reputations under disgrace, by coupling them with names or persons of any infamous resentment whatsoever.

FINIS.

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